

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 160103

EXDIS - FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM UNA

FOL BISSAU 0778 SENT ACTION SECSTATE JUNE 22, 1978
REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T BISSAU 0778

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CF, XA, XJ

SUBJECT: S. AFRICA POLICY: SHABA, SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT

REF: STATE 153145

1. I GREATLY APPRECIATE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON IMPORTANT TELEGRAPHIC CONVERSATION BETWEEN USUN AND DEPARTMENT. AS RECENT EDITION OF "JEUNE AFRIQUE" ELOQUENTLY AND ACCURATELY POINTED OUT, CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA ARE TRULY EPOCH MAKING, AND IT IS PRUDENT FOR USG NOW TO STOP, THINK, AND PLAN ON A BROAD SCALE.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 160103

2. AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S SUGGESTION HAS TWO ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS: FIRST, WE OFFER TO AFRICA'S LEADERS A SERIOUS OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH THE WORLD'S MAJOR POWER, AND SECOND WE INSIST THAT THE AFRICANS MUST MEANINGFULLY PARTICIPATE, I.E. "WE CHALLENGE" THEM TO FACE UP TO THEIR PROBLEMS.

3. TO BE SUCCESSFUL, IT SEEMS TO ME, THIS APPROACH
REQUIRES SEVERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON OUR PART:

A) WE MUST CAREFULLY PREPARE OUR BRIEFING PAPERS
AND WE MUST BE PREPARED TO TALK WITH SOME CON-
CRETENESS.

B) WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT WHILE AFRICAN LEADERS
ARE DEVOTED TO THE CONCEPT OF THE CONTINENT AS AN
ENTITY AND TO THE COROLLARY THAT AFRICAN PROBLEMS
SHOULD BE DEALT WITH BY AFRICANS, AFRICAN LEADERS
ARE ALSO CONCERNED WITH AND MOTIVATED BY OTHER
CONCERNS AND IDEALS, RANGING FROM PERSONAL POWER
THROUGH SOCIAL REFORM. THESE CONCERNS ARE
REGIONALLY NEUTRAL AND OFTEN RESULT IN AFRICAN
LEADERS ADOPTING POLICIES WHICH DIVERGE FROM THE
FORMAL COMMITMENT TO THE PAN-AFRICAN IDEAL.
WITH REGARD TO THAT IDEAL, LET US NOT BE MORE
CATHOLIC THAN THE POPE.

C) PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AT DIALOGUE WITH AFRICANS HAVE
BEEN HINDERED BY THE IMPRESSION WE SOMETIMES CREATE,
INADVERTENTLY TO BE SURE, THAT OUR INTEREST IN A
PARTICULAR LEADER OR GROUP OF LEADERS AND COUN-
TRIES RESULTS FROM A SUDDEN NEED OF OURS, AND DOES
NOT REFLECT A LONG-TERM INTEREST. MANY PEOPLE FEEL
WE IGNORE THEM UNTIL WE NEED THEM, AND THEN DROP
THEM IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE PARTICULAR CRISIS IN
QUESTION IS OVER. THEREFORE, A NEW APPROACH AT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 160103

DIALOGUE SHOULD CLEARLY HAVE A LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE.
FOR INSTANCE, AN EXPANDED PROGRAM OF VISITS BY
AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE COULD BE PLANNED -- AND
EVEN LEAKED CONCURRENTLY WITH THE INTENSIFICATION
OF SHORT-TERM CONTACTS ON PRESENT PROBLEMS. A
SUPPORTING PROGRAM OF MINISTERIAL LEVEL INVITATIONS TO
THE U.S., TO INCLUDE COUNTRIES NOT OBVIOUSLY CEN-
TRAL TO ANY SPECIFIC CURRENT CRISIS, COULD BE
IMPLEMENTED.

D) SPECIFICALLY, WE COULD ENCOURAGE THE OAU AS AN
INSTITUTION BY ADOPTING A FORMAL POLICY OF INVITING
EACH INCUMBENT PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE U.S. IN HIS
ROLE AS PRESIDENT OF THAT ORGANIZATION.

4. THE ABOVE SUGGESTIONS ARE MORE TECHNIQUE THAN
SUBSTANCE, BUT GOOD POLICY CAN SUFFER FROM BAD TIMING
AND POOR MANNERS. AFRICAN LEADERS WILL BY AND LARGE
RESPOND TO A CALL FOR SERIOUS CONVERSATION AND
COOPERATION, BUT THEY WILL NEED TO BE CONVINCED THAT
WE WILL ANSWER THE PHONE WHEN THEY CALL.
MARKS UNQUOTE VANCE

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